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THE ITINERARY OF BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (*continued*).

HEBREW TEXT.

ועשה | ארמן מעבר לנهر¹ על שפת זרוע פרת שהוא מצד האחד² נט³
של עיר⁴ ובנה בו בתים גדולים ושוקים⁵ ופונדקאות לעניינים החולמים הבאים⁵
להתרפאות⁶. ושם כמו ששים חנויות מרופאים וכולם יש להם בשמות
וכל צרכם מבית המלך⁷. וכל חולה שיבא שם מטופרנס⁸ מממון המלך.
והם מרפאים אותם⁹ ושם ארמן¹⁰ שקורין אותו דאר אל מרטאן¹¹.
והוא ארמן שאוסרים בו כל המשוגעים הנמצאים בקיין מרוב החמה בכל
העיר¹². ואוסרין¹³ כל אחד ואחד מהם¹⁴ בכבלי ברזל עד שהוחרים לדעתם¹⁴
בימי החורף¹⁵ וכל ימי החותם שם מטופרנסים מבית המלך. וכשבים
לדעתם. מניה¹⁶ אותם. וכל אחד ואחד¹⁶ הולך לbijto¹⁷ ולכבודו. ונותניין
לهم ממונם לנדים בבתי¹⁸ הפונדקאות ואנשי העיר וחור כל אחד ואחד
לbijto¹⁸ ולכבודו. כי בכל חרש וחדרש¹⁹ שואליין¹⁹ אותם פקידי המלך ובורקי¹⁹
איהם אם חוררי²⁰ לדעתם מתרין²¹ אותם והולכים לבתיהם ולדררכם²⁰. וכל
זה עשו המלך לצרקה לכל הבאים בעיר²¹ בוגראד²² בין חולמים בין
משוגעים. והמלך איש הסיד²³ וכונתו לטובה בזה העניין²⁴: ויש שם
בוגראד כמו ארבעים אלף יהודים מישראל²⁵ והם יושבים בהשקטם ס
ובשללה²⁶ ובכבוד תחת²⁷ המלך הנדול ובוניהם חכמים גדולים וראשי

¹ R omits or אחר R — מעבר הנهر A; אחר or אחר R — מעבר הנهر E; מעבר לנهر A — .
² R omits — .
³ R A — .
⁴ R omits — .
⁵ R omits — .
⁶ A adds שם — .
⁷ R omits till the next — .
⁸ A (this suggests a lacuna);
⁹ יחרפנס A; אוטו R — .
¹⁰ A adds גודל מסקן R — .
¹¹ A substitutes for והם גו' — .
¹² R omits דאר אל מראפתאן A — .
¹³ A omits מהניין מרוב החמיות בעיר R — .
¹⁴ A omits till the next, continuing which argues a lacuna. — .
¹⁵ R omits בימי החורף, הדעתם כל אחד ונכלי חזש R — .
¹⁶ R omits — .
¹⁷ A omits till the next — .
¹⁸ R omits ולbijto — .
¹⁹ R omits שונבי — .
²⁰ A omits בורקים איהם פקידי המלך R — .
²¹ A夷 R — .
²² BM; R — .
²³ A omits בוגראד — .
²⁴ R omits והמלך אם גו' — .
²⁵ R omits יהודים אlichם — .
²⁶ A inverts ובשללה גודל תחת י — .
²⁷ A — .
²⁸ ובכבודו גודל תחת י — .

ישבות מתחסכו ב תורה¹. ובעיר עשרה ישבות². ראש הישיבה הגדולה הרב ר' שמואל בן עלי ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב לוי³ (sic) והוא מיוחס עד משה רביה ע"ה ראש הישיבה השנייה⁴. ור' חנניה אחיו סגן הלוים. ור' דניאל יסוד⁵ הישיבה השלישית. ור' אלעזר החבר ראש הישיבה הרביעית. ור' אלעזר בן צמח ראש הסדר והוא מיוחס עד שמואל הנביא הכהני⁶. והוא אחיו יודעים לנגן הומרות כמו שהיו המשוררים נונינים⁷ במנין שבית המקדש קיים והוא ראש הישיבה החמישית⁸. ור' חסדאי⁹ פאר החברים ראש הישיבה הששית. ור' חני¹⁰ ראש הישיבה¹¹ השביעית. ור' עוזרא ראש¹² הנקרא סוד הישיבה והוא ראש הישיבה השמינית. ור' אברהם הנקרא אביו טהרה¹³ ראש הישיבה התששית. ור' זכאי בן בסתאני סא הנשיא בעל הסימן. והם הנקראים עשרה | בטלמים¹⁴ שאין מתחסכו בדבר אחר אלא בצרבי צבור¹⁵: ובכל ימי השבוע הם דין לכל אנשי הארץ יהודים¹⁶. חוץ מיום שני שבאים כלם לפני הרב שמואל הוא¹⁷ ראש ישיבת גאון¹⁸. ועומד עם העשרה בטלנים ראש הישיבה¹⁹ לדין²⁰ לכל הבאים אליהם. ובראש²¹ של בולם דניאל בן חסדא²² הנקרא אדרוניינו

ישב בעיר עשר ישבות ; ואישׁר משה¹ — ב תורה ישבות ; A omits from the preceding sentence ; both continue ר' ואישׁר. — ² Evidently a copyist's misreading (from a faded text ?) for חלי, since the brother is a Levite ; R has ; for A see the following note. — ³ R inverts : ור' חנניה אחיו סגן הלוים ראש הישיבה השנייה (the second) ; this was also the order in the source from which BM is derived, as the context and the ור' prove ; likewise in the source of EA, which have, however, preserved only גאון יעקב | סגן הלוים ראש הישיבה (the second) (E has only יעקב | סגן הלוים ראש הישיבה) ; R probably indicates a disturbance in the text ; EA also omit ; cp. note 22. — ⁴ E סוד הישיבה ; A ; cp. text below after ר' זכאי. — ⁵ Instead of ר' הכהני : R ; הרמומי ; cp. text below after ר' עוזרא. — ⁶ Instead of ר' הכהני : R ; A omits. — ⁷ R omits משוררים ומונינים. — ⁸ R omits והישיבה השביעית הדבשיות הנקרא סוד הישיבה השביעית, leaving only the words והישיבה השמינית. This is one of several evidences of wilful contraction by the copyist. — ⁹ EA זכאי. — ¹⁰ EA inserts הגדייא. — ¹¹ EA omits ר' חסדאי. E has here זכאי, and from what intervenes between these two words the following sentence is formed : ור' שורה ראש הישיבה השביעית ור' זכאי הדבשיות (perhaps from a correction in the margin) ; A has | indicating a disturbance in the text before him. — ¹² A omits till the next ; ר' ואישׁר ; ור' זכאי בן בסתאני²³ A omits. — ¹³ R omits בטלמים שאין מתחסכו אלא לטרבי²⁴ R omits געל הסימן ראש הישיבה העשויות הם הנקראים בטלנים — ¹⁵ R omits היזדים. — ¹⁶ R omits וכל צבורו, and continues Here is. — ¹⁷ R omits שמואל ר' חנניה יעקב. — ¹⁸ R omits ר' חנניה (E) ראש הישיבה. — ¹⁹ R omits גאון יעקב ר' חנניה (E) ראש הישיבה. — ²⁰ Here begins MS. O = Oxford, see Introduction. It coincides with the text except when the contrary is stated in the notes. — ²¹ R A O יבראשם R omits ר' דניאל בן חסדא O omits ר' דניאל בן חסדא. — ²² R A O omits ר' דניאל בן חסדא O omits ר' דניאל בן חסדא.

ראש גלו¹ של כל ישראל² ויש לו ספר היחס עד דוד מלך ישראל² וכוראין אותו היהודי אדונינו ראש הנולח³ וישראלים⁴ כוראין אותו סיד נא奔 דאוד⁵. ויש לו שרדה נדולה על כל קהילות ישראל⁶ מיד⁷ אמר אל מומני⁸ אדון היישמעאלים שכך⁹ צוה משונע¹⁰ לזרעו ועשה לו חותם שרדה¹¹ על כל קהילות הקדש¹² הדרים תחת יד תורהנו. וכך צוה שבל בר איש ישמעאל או יהודי או מכל אומה שבמלוכתו¹³ שיקום לפניו ויתן לו שלום וכל מי שלא יקום לפניו¹⁴ מלוקן אותו מאה¹⁵ מכות. והולכין עמו פרושים מן הגנים | ומן היהודים¹⁶ בכל יום חמישי¹⁷ שהוא הילך סב לדראות פני המלך הנדול ומכריזן לפניו עשו דרך לאדונינו בן דוד בראיו לו. ואומר¹⁸ בלשונם אעמלוא טרייך לסייענא בן דאוד¹⁹. והוא רוכב על סוס ולבוש²⁰ בנדי מש ורकמה ומצנפת נדולה על ראשו. ועל המצנפת סודר לבן נדול. ועל הסודר רדייך²¹ וחותם מהמוד כתוב עליו²² ובא לפני המלך ומנסק ידו²³ והמלך יקום לפניו ווישיבתו²⁴ על הכסא שזו²⁵ מהמוד לעשות לו ולכבודו²⁶ וכל מלבי היישמעאלים²⁷ הכאים לדראות פני המלך כולם עומדים לפניו. וראש הנולח²⁸ יושב בכסאו בנדנו כי כן צוה מהמוד לקיים הכתוב²⁹ לא יסור שבט מיהודה³⁰ ומחוק מבין רגלו עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקחת עמים. וכל קהילות³¹ שנער ופרם וכראסאן³² ושבא הי'

¹ After גלו וنم (and Ed. C the genitive A אדונינו ; ראש גלו וنم (and Ed. C the genitive A אדונינו ; ראש גלו וنم (and Ed. C the genitive A אדונינו ; evidently 'ש', the abbreviation of 'ישראל', was read and as this gives no sense it was turned into in Ed. Ferrara. — ² עד דוד המלך ; A and Ed. C the genitive A אדונינו ; סרנאן דוד המלך (sic) — ³ קדשה בית (see note 19). — ⁴ E קדשה בית (see note 19). — ⁵ R shortens this passage into (sic) דוד המלך O (suggested by the preceding passage ?). — ⁶ קדשה ים R קדשה ים (see note 19). — ⁷ על הקהילות R קדשה ים (see note 19). — ⁸ ממן R קדשה ים (see note 19). — ⁹ R A O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁰ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹¹ A omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹² A omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹³ R shortens this passage into (sic) דוד המלך O (see note 19). — ¹⁴ R A O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁵ R omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁶ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁷ Also R omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁸ A omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ¹⁹ E A O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁰ R A O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²¹ A omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²² R omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²³ R omits קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁴ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁵ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁶ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁷ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁸ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ²⁹ R O קדשה ים (see note 19). — ³⁰ R and O omit the rest of the verse, O adds 'וכו'. — ³¹ O A insert 'ארץ'. — ³² According to Grünhut, R contracts the two names into Neub. marks no difference from A ; O A ; E ; וכרסאן

אל ים¹ ודי אָרֶץ כלְקָרְבָּן² וכל אָרֶץ ארָם נָהָרִים³ היושבים בהרי אררט
ואָרֶץ אלְ נִיה⁴ הַיָּא אָרֶץ מַוקְפָּתָה⁵ הַרִּים וְאַיִן לְהָ⁶ יִצְיָא אֶלְלָא עַל⁷ שָׁעֵרִי
בְּרֹזֶל שְׁעָשָׂה אַלְבְּסָנְדָר⁸ וְשָׁבְּרוּ אֶתְהָם וְשָׁם הַאוֹמָה⁹ הַנְּקָרָת אֶלְלָן¹⁰ וְאָרֶץ
סִבְּרִיָּה¹¹ וְכָל אָרֶץ הַתוֹּגְרָמִים¹² עַד הַרִּי אַסְוָה¹³ וְאָרֶץ גּוֹרָן הַנְּקָרָאִים
גּוֹרָגְנִין הַיּוֹשְׁבִּים עַל¹⁴ נַהַר נִיחָוֹן: וְהָם הַגְּרָנְשִׁי¹⁵ וְהָם מַתְּעַסְּקִים¹⁶ בְּרַת
הַגְּנָזְרִים וְעַד שְׁעֵרִי סְמָרְכָּנְתָה¹⁷ וְאָרֶץ¹⁸ טְבוּבָת וְאָרֶץ¹⁹ הוֹרָוּ רָאשׁ הַגְּנָלָה
סְגָן נָטוּן לְהָם רְשׁוֹת בְּכָל הַקְּהָלוֹת הַאֲלֹוֹ לְשָׁם עַל כָּל²⁰ קָהָל וּקְהָל | רָב וְחוֹזֵן
כִּי הַם בָּאִים אַלְוֹ לְקַחַת הַסְּמִיכָה²¹ וְרְשׁוֹת וּמְבָיאָן לְ²² דָּרוֹנוֹת וּמְתָנוֹת
מְאָפָּסִי הָאָרֶץ. וַיְשַׁׁלְּוּ פָּנְדָּקָאֹת²³ וְגִנְוָתָם וּפְרָדָסִים בְּבָבָל וְנָחָלוֹת רְבָות
מְאָד²⁴ מְנָחָלָת אַבּוֹתָיו וְאַיִן אָרָם יְכָל²⁵ לְגַזּוֹל מְמָנוֹ בְּלָם וַיְשַׁׁלְּוּ בְּפָנְדָּקָאֹת²⁶
שֶׁל יְהָוִדִּים וּבְשָׁוּקִים וּבְסָחָרִי הָאָרֶץ מֵסִים יְדוּעָה בְּכָל²⁷ שְׁבָעָוּ וּשְׁבָעָוּ חֹזֵן
מִמָּה שְׁמָבִיאָן מָאָרֶץ מְרָחָק²⁸. וְהָאִישׁ עִשְּׂרֵה גָּדוֹל וְחוֹכָם³⁰ בְּפִסְכָּם וּבְתִלְמָזָר
וְאָכְלִים³¹ עַל שְׁלָחָנוּ רְבִים מִשְׁרָאֵל בְּכָל יוֹם. אֶבְלָה הַעַת³² שְׁמָקִים³³
רָאשׁ הַגְּנָלָה³⁴ הַוָּא מּוֹצִיאָ מְמוֹן נְדֹול עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ וְעַל הַשְּׁרִים וּהַסְּנִים³⁵
בְּיּוֹם שְׁעוֹשָׂה לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ הַסְּמִיכָה³⁶ עַל הַשְּׁרָרָה וּמְרַכְּבֵין³⁷ אָתוֹן בְּמַרְכָּבָת
הַמְּשֻנְחָה³⁸ וּמְבָיאָן אָתוֹן מִבֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל³⁹ לְבִתּוֹ בְּתוֹפִים וּבְמַחְוֹלוֹת
וְהָוָא עֲוֹשָׂה הַסְּמִיכָה⁴⁰ לְרָאשָׁה⁴¹ הַיִשְׁבָּה. וְהַיְהָוִדִּים שְׁבָרְמִינָה⁴² תַּלְמִידִי

הכמים ועשירים גודלים ובעיר בגדאד ¹ כ"ח | בתי נסיות ליהודים ² בין סדר
בגדאד ³ ואל כרך ⁴ אשר מעבר לנهر ⁵ חקל כי הנהר חולק את המרינה.
וכנישת ⁶ גודלה של ראש הנולה מבניין עמודי ⁷ שיש מכל מיני צבעים
ומצוופים בכיסף זהב ⁸ ובעמודים אותיות זהב של פסוקי ⁹ תהילים. ושם לפניו
הארון מדרגות מאבני ¹⁰ שיש כמו עשרה. ובמדרגה העליונה יושב ראש
גולחה ¹¹ עם נשייאי ¹² בית דוד: ומדינת בגדאד ¹³ עיר גודלה עשרים ¹⁴
מיילין בהקפת העיר והוא ¹⁵ ארץ תמרים וננות ופרדסים שאין במתה ¹⁶
בכל ארץ שנער ובאים אליה בסחורה מכל הארץות. ובה אנשים הרים
פילוסופים יודעים בכל חכמה וחרטומים ¹⁷ יודעים בכל מני ¹⁸ כשו. ומשם
לגוזון הנקראות רסן שני ימים ¹⁹ והוא עיר גודלה ובה כמו חמשת ²⁰ אלפיים
ישראל ²¹. ובתוכה הכנסת של רבה ²² והוא גודלה והוא קבור ²³ סמור
לכנסת. ותחת ²⁴ קברו מערה קברים בה י"ב מתלמידיו: ומשם יום |
לכבל ²⁵ היא בבל הקדומה ²⁶ החרבה ומהלך ²⁷ שלשים מיל בחרכותה ²⁸. סה

ב' חנניה מישאל ועורה והוא ² עמק ידוע לבל: ומשם המשה פרסאות ³ לחילה. שם כמו عشرת אלפים מישראל ⁴. ובה ארבע ⁵ בתי כנסיותichert את של רבי מאיר והוא קבור לפניה ⁶: ובנשת מרד קשייא ⁷ והוא קבור לפניה. ונשת רב ⁸ זעירי בר חמא ⁹ ובנשת רב מארי ¹⁰ ומתפללים שם יהודים בכל יום ¹¹: ומשם ארבעה מיליון למגדל שבנו דור הפלגה והוא בניי מלכינים הנקראים אגור ¹² ואורד ¹³ יסודו בשני ¹⁴ מיליון וברחבו כארבעה ¹⁵ ס' אמה וארבו ¹⁶ כמו מאתים אמה ¹⁷ ובין עשרה עשרה ¹⁸ אמות דרכיהם וביהם שם ¹⁹ עולמים בעיגול מסביבין ²⁰ עד למעלה ורוואין ממנה ²¹ מהלך עשרים ²² מיין כי הארץ מישור ²³ ובתוכו ²⁴ נפלת אש מן השמים ובקעה אותו ²⁵ עד התהום. ומשם חצי יום לכפרי ²⁶ ושם כמו מאתים ²⁷ יהודים. ושם בנשת ר' יצחק נפחא והוא קבור לפניה: ומשם שלש פרסאות לנשת יחזקאל הנביא ע"ה שעל ²⁸ נהר פרת ובמקום הנסת כמו ²⁹ ששים מנדרלים ובין ³⁰ מגדר ומגדל בנשת ובצד הנסת התייה ואחרו ³¹ הנסת קברו של יחזקאל ³² ועליו כיפה גודלה ובנין יפה עד מאדר מבניין הקרטונוים המלך ³³ יכניה מלך יהודה וליה ³⁴ אלף יהודים שבאו עמו בשחוציאו ³⁵ אויל מדורך מבית הכלא וזה המקום על ³⁶ נהר בכר מצד אחד ומצד אחר נהר פרת ³⁷. יכניה וכל הבאים עמו חוקרים בכותל יכניה בראשו יחזקאל ³⁸ בסוף. ואותו מקום עד היום מוקשש לישראל מוקשש מעט

ובאים מארץ מרחק ¹ להתפלל מראש השנה ועד ² יום הכיפורים וועישם שם ישראל ³ שמחה גROLה. ונם ראש גולה ⁴ וראשי ישיבות שבאים ⁵ שם מבוגנאר ⁶ והונם על פנו הדרה בשני ⁷ מיליון ובאים שם סוחרי ⁸ ערבי. שם יריד גROLה הנקראת פאריה ⁹ ומוציאין ספר מנוייל ¹⁰ מכתיבת יחזקאל הנביה וקורין בו ביום הכהנים. ועל קברו של יחזקאל ¹¹ עששית דולקת בכל יום ¹² וכל הלילה שלא תכבה ¹³ מיום שהאריך אותה הוא בעצמו וחולפין הפתילות ומוספין שמן עד היום הזה. ושם בית גROL של הקדרש ¹⁴ והוא מלא ספרים ¹⁵ ומכית ראשון ומכית ¹⁶ שני שם ¹⁷ ספרים. וכל מי ¹⁸ שאין לו בן יקדריש שם ספריו ¹⁹ וambilaiן היהודים הבאים שם להתפלל ²⁰ בארץ פרס ומדי ממון שנדרין על עצמן ²¹ אנשי הארץ לנכסת יחזקאל הנביה. וש ²² לנכסת נחלות וקרקעות וכפרים שהיו לבניה המלך וכשבא משונגע ²³ קיים הכל לנכסת יחזקאל. ונם ²⁴ בני גROLוי ישמעאל ²⁵ באים

ואוֹתוֹ (אוֹתוֹ Neub.) מוקדש ליש' ושמו מ', מצע וגאים שם מ' ר' שם
 הגולֶה. — ² OA omits. — ³ A omits. — ⁴ A. — ⁵ RA O מנגנזר R, as usual. — ⁶ MS. — ⁷ E for נז' hence
 ב', because. — ⁸ A. — ⁹ A. סחררים נז' R; סחררי נז' 0. — ¹⁰ A. שנים ועשורים
 פיריה R; פיריה A. — ¹¹ RE add חנניא O; פיריא A. פיריה E. — ¹² RA O פיריה E; פיריה
 נל' היזם גובל A. — ¹³ A. omits till the next סחרר. — ¹⁴ R. הקושט R omits till the
 סחרר. — ¹⁵ R. חנניא ל' היזם E. — ¹⁶ A. omits till the next סחרר. — ¹⁷ A. ש' ס' 0. — ¹⁸ RA omit
 מ' ס' סחרר. — ¹⁹ A. מ' ס' סחרר. — ²⁰ A. O invert: מ' ס' סחרר. — ²¹ RO omit להלמל ש' ס' סחרר.
 ומודי נדר על עצם. — ²² RA omit till the next passage, from after חזקאל הנביא otherwise = text. — ²³ R. מחרט
 נוגה גורלי נז' RA. — ²⁴ R. מחרט O; מחרט E reads נז' חזקאל נוגה.

²⁵ In MS. BM follows here a piece that belongs earlier, viz.: beginning שׁוֹק הַמִּלְחָה, p. 22, מִבֵּין הַקְּרוּבִים line 4; this is not due to misplacing of leaves of BM, for the straying piece is not on a separate leaf, nor does it begin and end at the first and last lines but distant from them; therefore the writer of BM must have had the misplacement before him. At the beginning of the errant piece he wrote on unconcerned, although the passage gives no sense; but here he endeavoured to produce some sense by inserting the words which are here put in brackets between the end of the stray piece and the resumption of the broken text, viz.: שׁוֹק הַמִּלְחָה (כִּי הַשְׁגַׁדְוִי שְׁמַעְתִּי) בְּאַמְּתָה שְׁמַעְתִּי. The words which occur both at the break of the text and at its resumption, and the mention of כִּי, are suggested from the part immediately before the irruption, so that it seems that the copyist became aware of the misplacement and also of the place where the text had been interrupted.

סח' שם להתפלל¹ | מרוב חיבתם ביהזקאל הנביא² וקוראיו שמו בר מלחה³ •
וכל בני ערב באים שם⁴ להתפלל. ושם סמוך לכנסת בחז' מיל קבר
הנניה מישאל ועויריה ועל קבריהם כיפורת גדורות⁵ • ובשעת החירות אין
אדם בעולם נוגע בעבדיו⁶ של יהזקאל⁷ לרעיה לא בישמעאים ולא
bihorim: ומשם שלש⁸ מיליון לערך קוטזונאת⁹ ובה כמו שלש מאות
יהודים ושם קבר רב פפא ורב הונא וויסוף סני¹⁰ ורב יוסף בר חמא
ולפניהם כל אחד ואחד בנסת. ומתחפלין שם ישראל בכל יום. ומשם שלש
פרסאות לעין שפתה¹¹ ושם קבור¹² נחום האלקוטי הנביא¹³ • ומשם
יום לכפר אל כרם¹⁴ ושם קבור רב חסדא ור' עיריה ור' עקיבא ור'
דוסא¹⁵: ומשם חצי יום לכפר מהמדבר¹⁶ ושם קבוריים¹⁷ ר' דוד ור'
יהודיה ואביי ור' קורדיה ורב סחרה ורב ארא¹⁸ • ומשם יום¹⁹ לנחר
סת רנא²⁰. ושם קבורי של צדקה²¹ המלך ועליו כפה²² גדורלה. ומשם יום²³
לעיר קופה ושם קבורי של יכניתה המלך ועליו²⁴ בניין גדור וכנסת לפניו.
ושם²⁵ במו שבעת אלפים יהודים²⁶ • ושם הבמה הנדרול²⁷ לישמעאים שם
קבור עליי בן אבו טאלב²⁸ חתנו של משונע²⁹ ובאים שם הישמעאים
לקשרות³⁰:

TRANSLATION.

p. 59 He built, on the other side of the river, on the banks of an arm of the Euphrates which there borders the city, a hospital consisting of blocks of houses and hospices for the sick poor who come to be healed¹. Here

¹ A valuable work, *Bagdad during the Abbaside Caliphate, from Contemporary Arabic and Persian Sources*, appeared in 1900, written by Mr. Guy Le Strange, which helps to explain Benjamin's account of the Moslem metropolis. The Caliph Mansur in 762 selected it as the Capital of the Empire. Numerous references in the Talmud prove that a Jewish settlement was there long before. Mansur built a double-walled Round City two miles in diameter on the western side of the Tigris. It formed the nucleus of suburbs, which spread over both banks of the Tigris. A very fair idea of the metropolis may be obtained if we imagine the Round City as situated on the Surrey side of the Thames, having the "Elephant and Castle" for its centre. At this spot stood the great Mosque of Mansur, where the Friday services were held, and where the Caliph took a prominent part in the service on the Bairam, at the close of the Ramazan fast. The Round City being subject to periodical inundations, the government buildings were gradually transferred to the eastern side of the river. The Royal Palaces, in the grounds called the Harim, which were fully three miles in extent, occupied the site similar to that from Westminster to the City. At one time there were as many as twenty-three palaces within the royal precincts. The Caliph, when visiting the Mosque in state, left the palace grounds, and proceeded over the main bridge, corresponding to Westminster Bridge, along a road which in Benjamin's time led to the Bazrah Gate quarter. At the close of the ceremony in the Mosque, the Caliph returned, crossing the Bridge of Boats, and proceeded to his palace by a road corresponding to the Thames Embankment. The members of his court and the nobles entered barges and escorted him alongside the river.

The Arab writers mention that certain palaces were used as state prisons, in which the Caliphs kept their nearer relations in honourable confinement. They were duly attended by numerous servants, and amply supplied with every luxury, but forbidden under pain of death to go beyond the walls. Lebrecht, p. 381, explains the circumstances under which the Caliph Moktafi imprisoned his brother and several of his kinsmen. There were large hospitals in Bagdad: the one to which Benjamin alludes is the Birmaristan of the Mustansiriah, in Western Bagdad, which for three centuries was a great school of medical science. Its ruins, close to the present Bridge of Boats, are still to be seen. The reader must bear in mind that at the time when Benjamin visited Bagdad the Seljuk Sultans had been defeated, and the Caliphs stood

there are about sixty physicians' stores which are provided from the Caliph's house with drugs and whatever else may be required. Every sick man who comes is maintained at the Caliph's expense and is medically treated. Here is a building which is called Dar-al-Maristan, where they keep charge of all the demented people who become insane in the towns through the great heat in the summer, and they chain each of them in iron chains until their reason becomes restored to them in the winter-time. Whilst they abide there, they are provided with food from the house of the Caliph, and when their reason is restored they are dismissed and each one of them goes to his house and his home. Money is given to those that have stayed in the hospices on their return to their homes. Every month the officers of the Caliph inquire and investigate whether they have been restored to reason, in which case they are discharged. All this the Caliph does out of charity to those that come to the city of Bagdad, whether they be sick or insane. The Caliph is a righteous man, and all his actions are for good.

In Bagdad there are about 40,000 Jews¹, | and they dwell in p. 60 security, prosperity and honour under the great Caliph, and amongst them are great sages, the heads of Academies engaged in the study of the law. In this city there are ten Academies. At the head of the great Academy is the Rabbi R. Samuel the son of Eli. He is the head of the Academy Gaon Jacob. He is a Levite and traces his pedigree back to Moses our teacher. The head of the second Academy is R. Hanania his brother, warden of the Levites; R. Daniel is the head of the third Academy; R. Elazar the scholar is the head of the fourth Academy; and R. Elazar, the son of Zemach, is the head of the order, and his pedigree reaches to Samuel the prophet, the Korahite. He and his brethren know how to chant the melodies as did the singers at the time when the Temple was standing. He is head of the fifth Academy; R. Hisdai, the glory of the scholars, is head of the sixth Academy; R. Haggai is head of the seventh Academy; and R. Ezra the head of the eighth Academy; R. Abraham who is called higher than ever in power. They, however, took little interest in political affairs, which were left entirely in the hands of their viziers.

¹ Asher and the other printed editions give the Jewish population at 1,000. Pethachiah makes the same estimate, which, however, is inconsistent with his statement, that the Head of the Academy had 2,000 disciples at one time, and that more than 500 surrounded him. The readings of the British Museum and Casanatense MSS. solve the difficulty; the word *forty* is inserted. It would be wearisome to specify in these notes all the places where a superior reading is presented by these MSS.; the student will, however, find that not a few anomalies which confronted Asher are now removed.

Abu Tahir is the head of the ninth Academy; and R. Sakkai, the son p. 61 of Bostanai the Nasi, is the head of the Sium¹. | These are the ten Batlanim², and they do not engage in any other work than communal administration; and all the days of the week they judge the Jews their countrymen, except on the second day of the week, when they all appear before the Rabbi Samuel, the head of the Yeshiba Gaon (Jacob), who in conjunction with the other Batlanim judges all those that appear before him. And at the head of them all is Daniel the son of Hisdai, who is styled "Our Lord the Head of the Captivity of all Israel." He possesses a book of pedigrees going back as far as David, King of Israel. The Jews call him "Our Lord, Head of the Captivity," and the Mohammedans call him "Saidna ben Daoud," and he has been invested with authority over all the congregations of Israel at the hands of the Emir al Mumenin, the Lord of Islam³. For thus Mohammed commanded concerning him and his descendants, and that the seal of office over all the holy congregations that dwell under his rule be given him, and that every Mohammedan or Jew, or one belonging to any nation in his dominion, should rise up before him (the Exilarch) and salute him, and that any one who should refuse to rise up should receive one hundred stripes⁴. |

p. 62 And every fifth day when he goes to pay a visit to the great Caliph, horsemen, Gentiles as well as Jews, escort him, and heralds proclaim in advance "Make way before our Lord, the son of David, as is due unto him," the Arabic words being "Amilu tarik la Saidna ben Daoud." He is mounted on a horse, and is attired in robes of silk and embroidery with a large turban on his head, and from the turban is suspended a long white cloth adorned with a chain upon which the cipher of Mohammed is engraved. Then he appears before the Caliph

¹ The last or tenth Academy.

² This appellation is applied in the Talmud to scholars who uninterruptedly apply themselves to communal work.

³ The first line of Exilarchs which ended with Hezekiah in the year 1040 traced their descent from David through Zerubbabel. Hisdai's pedigree must have been through Hillel, a female branch of the Royal line (see Grätz, vol. VI, note 10). Pethachiah writes (p. 19) that a year before his arrival at Bagdad Daniel died. A nephew, David, became Exilarch jointly with R. Samuel, the Head of the great Academy, whose authority over all the communities in Asia became paramount. Samuel had an only daughter, who was learned in the Scriptures and the Talmud. She gave instruction through a window, remaining in the house, whilst the disciples were below, unable to see her.

⁴ The office of Exilarch had but recently been revived, and the Mohammed here referred to may have been Mohammed El Moktafi, the Caliph Mostanshed's predecessor.

and kisses his hand, and the Caliph rises and places him on a throne which Mohammed had ordered to be made for him, and all the Mohammedan princes who attend the court of the Caliph rise up before him. And the Head of the Captivity is seated on his throne opposite to the Caliph, in compliance with the command of Mohammed to give effect to what is written in the law—"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a law-giver from between his feet, until he come to Shiloh: and to him shall the gathering of the people be." And the authority of the Head of the Captivity extends over all the communities of Shinar, Persia, Khorasan and Saba which is Al Yemen, and Diar Kalach and all the land of Aram Naharaim (Mesopotamia), the dwellers in the mountains of Ararat and the land of the Alans¹, which is a land surrounded by mountains and has no outlet except by the iron gates which Alexander made, but which were afterwards broken. Here are the people called Alani. His authority extends also over the land of Siberia, and the communities in the land of the Togarmim unto the mountains of Asveh and the land of Gurgan the inhabitants of which are called Gurganim who dwell by the river Gihon², and these are the Girgarshi who

¹ The Alans throughout the Middle Ages occupied Georgia and the regions of the Caucasus. As to the Iron Gates which Alexander made, Yule in commenting on Marco Polo's text (*Travels of Ser Marco Polo*: edited by Sir Henry Yule, 3rd edition, London, John Murray, chap. iii) says that Benjamin was the first European traveller to mention this pass. Benjamin and Marco Polo both record the general belief current at the time that the Pass of Derbend was traversed by Alexander. It is still called in Turkish "Demis-Kapi" or the Iron Gate, and the Persians designate it "Sadd-i-Iskandar"—the Rampart of Alexander. Lord Curzon, however, in his valuable work *Persia and the Persians*, vol. I, p. 293, conclusively proves that the pass through which Alexander's army marched when pursuing Darius after the battle of Arbela could not have been at Derbend. Arrian, the historian of Alexander's expeditions, writes that the pass was one day's journey from Rages (the noted city mentioned in the Book of Tobit) for a man marching at the pace of Alexander's army. But Derbend is fully 500 miles from Rages. In Lord Curzon's opinion, confirmed by Spiegel, Droysen and Schindler, the Sir-dara Pass, some forty miles from Teheran on the way to Meshed, must have been the defile which Alexander's army forced. I think it will be found that Marco Polo's geography is less reliable than that of Benjamin. In the third chapter referred to above, Marco Polo speaks of the Euphrates falling into the Caspian Sea.

² Probably the Oxus, called by the Arabs "Jaihun." Rabad I, a contemporary of Benjamin, speaks of the land of Gurgan in like terms in his *Sefer Hakabalah*.

follow the Christian religion. Further it extends to the gates of Samarkand, the land of Tibet, and the land of India. In respect of all these countries the Head of the Captivity gives the communities p. 63 power to appoint | Rabbis and Ministers who come unto him to be consecrated and to receive his authority. They bring him offerings and gifts from the ends of the earth. He owns hospices, gardens and plantations in Babylon, and much land inherited from his fathers, and no one can take his possessions from him by violence. He has a fixed weekly revenue arising from the hospices of the Jews, the markets and the merchants, apart from that which is brought to him from far-off lands. The man is very rich, and wise in the Scriptures as well as in the Talmud, and many Israelites dine at his table every day.

At the installation of the Head of the Captivity, he gives much money to the Caliph, to the Princes and the Ministers. On the day that the Caliph performs the ceremony of investing him with his authority, he rides in the second of the royal equipages, and is escorted from the palace of the Caliph to his own house with timbrels and ffes. The Exilarch appoints the Chiefs of the Academies by placing his hand upon their heads, thus installing them in their office¹. The Jews of the city are learned men and very rich. |

p. 64 In Bagdad there are twenty-eight Jewish Synagogues situated either in the city itself or on the other side of the Tigris; for the river divides the city into two parts. The great synagogue of the Head of the Captivity has columns of marble of various colours overlaid with silver and gold, and on these columns are sentences of the Psalms in golden letters. And in front of the ark are about ten steps of marble; on the topmost step are the seats of the Head of the Captivity and of the Princes of the House of David. The city of Bagdad is twenty miles in circumference, situated in a land of palms, gardens and plantations, the like of which is not to be found in the whole land of Shinar. People come thither with merchandise from all lands. Wise men live there, philosophers who know all manner of wisdom, and magicians expert in all manner of witchcraft.

Thence it is two days to Gazigan which is called Resen. It is a large city containing about 5,000 Jews. In the midst of it is the Synagogue of Rabah²—a large one. He is buried close to the Synagogue, and beneath his sepulchre is a cave where twelve of his pupils are buried.

p. 65 Thence it is a day's journey | to Babylon, which is the Babel of old,

¹ It is interesting to compare this account with that of the Installation of the Egyptian Nagid (*J. Q. R.*, IX, p. 717).

² This is a well-known sage, whose name often occurs in the Talmud.

that now lies in ruins thirty miles in extent¹. The ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar are still to be seen there, but people are afraid to enter them on account of the serpents and scorpions. Near at hand within a distance of a mile there dwell 3,000 Israelites who pray in the Synagogue of the Pavilion of Daniel, which is ancient, and was erected by Daniel. It is built of hewn stones and bricks. Between the Synagogue and the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar is the furnace into which were thrown Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and the site of it lies in a valley² known unto all.

Thence it is five parasangs to Hillah, where there are 10,000 Israelites and four Synagogues; that of R. Meir, who lies buried before it; the Synagogue of Markeshisha, who is buried in front of it; also the Synagogue of Rab Seiri, the son of Chama, and the Synagogue of R. Mari; the Jews pray there every day.

Thence it is four miles to the Tower of Babel, which the generation whose language was confounded, built of the bricks called Agur. The length of its foundation is about two miles, the breadth of the tower is about forty cubits, and the length thereof | two hundred p. 66 cubits. At every ten cubits' distance there are slopes which go round the tower by which one can ascend to the top³. One can see from

¹ The Babel of Bible times was captured by Sennacherib; after stopping up a dam of the Euphrates, the country was placed under water and the city destroyed. Nebuchadnezzar restored the city, he also erected a magnificent palace for himself—the Kasr—also the Temple of Bel. Herodotus, Book I, chaps. 178-89, fully describes these edifices, and dwells upon the huge extent of the metropolis, which was estimated to have a circuit of fifty miles. Xerxes destroyed the city. Alexander the Great contemplated the restoration of Bel's Temple, but as it would have taken two months for 10,000 men to merely remove the rubbish, he abandoned the attempt. The ruins have been recently explored by Germans. The embankments which regulated the flow of the Euphrates and Tigris have given way, and at the present time the whole region round Babylon is marshy and malarious. In the words of Jeremiah, li. 43, “Her cities are a desolation, a sterile land, and a wilderness, a place wherein no man dwelleth.”

² The Valley of Dura mentioned in Daniel iii. 1 is here referred to. See Dr. Berliner's *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens*; also Layard's *Niniveh and Babylon*, p. 515.

³ Bereshith Rabba, chap. xxxviii, says the tower was at Borsippa, and the ruins here spoken of are probably those of the Birs Nimroud, fully described by Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, chap. xxii. p. 496. He says: “The mound rises abruptly to the height of 198 feet, and has on its summit a compact mass of brickwork 37 feet high by 28 broad.... On one side of it, beneath the crowning masonry, lie huge fragments

there a view twenty miles in extent, as the land is level. There fell fire from heaven into the midst of the tower which split it to its very depths.

Thence it is half a day to Kaphri, where there are about 200 Jews. Here is the Synagogue of R. Isaac Napcha, who is buried in front of it. Thence it is three parasangs to the Synagogue of Ezekiel, the prophet of blessed memory, which is by the river Euphrates¹. It is fronted by sixty turrets, and between each turret there is a minor Synagogue, and in the court of the Synagogue is the ark, and at the back of the Synagogue is the sepulchre of Ezekiel. It is surmounted by a large cupola, and it is a very handsome structure. It was built of old by King Jeconiah, king of Judah, and the 35,000 Jews who came with him, when Evil-merodach brought him forth out of prison. This place is by the river Chebar on the one side, and by the river Euphrates on the other, and the names of Jeconiah and those that accompanied him are engraved on the wall; Jeconiah

p. 67 at the top, and Ezekiel at the bottom. This place is held sacred by Israel as a lesser sanctuary unto this day, and people come from a distance to pray there from the time of the New Year until the Day of Atonement. The Israelites have great rejoicings on these occasions. Thither also come the Head of the Captivity, and the Heads of the Academies. Their camp extends over a space of two miles, and Arab merchants come there as well. A great gathering like a fair takes place, which is called Fera, and they bring forth a scroll of the law written on parchment by Ezekiel the Prophet,

torn from the pile itself. The calcined and vitreous surface of the bricks, fused into rock-like masses, show that their fall may have been caused by lightning. The ruin is rent almost from top to bottom. No traces whatever now remain of the spiral passage spoken of by the Jewish traveller." Cf. Professor T. K. Cheyne's article, "The Tower of Babel," in the new *Biblical Cyclopaedia*. Nebuchadnezzar, in his Borsippa inscription, records that the tower, which had never originally been completed, had fallen into decay, and that the kiln-bricks had split. These are the Agur bricks mentioned by Benjamin; cf. Isaiah xxvii. 9. Al-ajur is the word still used by the Arabs for kiln-burnt bricks.

¹ Niebuhr, vol. II, 216, gives a full account of his visit to the tomb. Layard, speaking of Birs Nimroud, says: "To the south-west in the extreme distance rise the palm-trees of Kifil, casting their scanty shade over a small dome, the tomb of Ezekiel. To this spot occasionally flock in crowds, as their forefathers have done for centuries, the Jews of Bagdad, Hillah, and other cities of Chaldea. . . . It is now but a plain building, despoiled of the ornaments and MSS. which it once appears to have contained" (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 500). Alcharizi composed a beautiful ode when visiting this tomb (chap. xxxv, also chap. L).

and read from it on the Day of Atonement. A lamp burns day and night over the sepulchre of Ezekiel; the light thereof has been kept burning from the day that he lighted it himself, and they continually renew the wick thereof, and replenish the oil unto the present day. A large house belonging to the sanctuary is filled with books, some of them from the time of the first temple, and some from the time of the second temple, and he who has no sons consecrates his books to its use. The Jews that come thither to pray, from the land of Persia and Media, bring the money which their countrymen have offered to the Synagogue of Ezekiel the Prophet. The Synagogue owns property, lands and villages, which belonged to King Jeconiah, and when Mohammed came he confirmed all these rights to the Synagogue of Ezekiel¹. Distinguished Mohammedans also come hither to pray, | so great is their love for Ezekiel the Prophet; and they p. 68 call it Bar (Dar) Melicha (the Dwelling of Beauty). All the Arabs come there to pray².

At a distance of about half a mile from the Synagogue are the sepulchres of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and upon their sepulchres are large cupolas; and at times of disturbance no man would dare touch the Mohammedan or Jewish servants who attend at the sepulchre of Ezekiel.

Thence it is three miles to the city of Kotsonath, where there are 300 Jews. Here are the sepulchres of Rab Papa, Rab Huna, Rab Joseph Sinai, and Rab Joseph ben Hama; and before each of them is a Synagogue where the Israelites pray every day. Thence it is three parasangs to Ain Siptha, where there is the sepulchre of the prophet

¹ This Mohammed, as in the case referred to p. 61, must have been a predecessor of the reigning Caliph, as the Prophet never was in Babylonia, and in no case would he have granted favours to the Jews. It should be noted that the British Museum MS. on which our text is based, as well as the Casanatense MS., generally style the Prophet *מְגַדֵּל*. The MS., on which the Constantinople *editio princeps* is based, had probably all passages where this epithet or other objectionable remarks were used excised by the censor, and it will be seen that the passage before us, with reference to the grant of land by Mohammed, as well as that on p. 69, referring to Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, do not appear in any of the printed editions. Dr. Hirschfeld is of opinion that, on the one hand, the epithet is the translation of the Arabic *majhūn*, a term against which Mohammed protested several times in the Koran, because it means possessed by a *jin*, like a soothsayer. On the other hand, the word was chosen having regard to Hosea ix. 7. This was done long before Benjamin's time, by Jefeth and others.

² See picture of the traditional tomb of Ezekiel in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. V, p. 315.

Nahum the Elkoshite. Thence it is a day's journey to Kefar Al-Keram, where are the sepulchres of Rab Chisdai, R. Azariah, R. Akiba, and R. Dosa. Thence it is a half-day's journey to a village in the desert, where there are buried R. David and R. Jehuda and Abaji, R. Kurdiah, Rab Sechora, and Rab Ada. Thence it is a p. 69 day's journey to the river Raga, where | there is the sepulchre of King Zedekiah. Upon it is a large cupola. Thence it is a day's journey to the city of Kufa, where there is the sepulchre of King Jeconiah. Over it is a big structure, and in front thereof is a Synagogue. There are about 7,000 Jews here. At this place is the large mosque of the Mohammedans, for here is buried Ali ben Abi Talib, the son-in-law of Mohammed, and the Mohammedans come hither

M. N. ADLER.

(To be continued.)